

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /059 W

----- 019750

R 220800Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2493

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: FORMATION OF POLITICAL ACTION GROUP UNDER GUISE OF
RESEARCH CORPORATION BY MODERATES AND FORMER REGIME FIGURES

REF: MADRID 4195

SUMMARY: VARIOUS ESTABLISHMENT AND OTHER FIGURES UNTIL RECENTLY
LARGELY IDENTIFIED WITH REGIME HAVE ESTABLISHED FEDISA, A LEGAL
CORPORATION DEDICATED TO POLITICAL STUDIES, IN A MOVE DELIBERATELY
REJECTING GOVT'S POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SCHEME. GOVT IS REPORTEDLY
ANGERED OVER THIS MOVE, PARTICULARLY SINCE CURRENT AMBASSADOR TO
LONDON FRAGA IS ONE OF LEADING FEDISA SPONSORS. END SUMMARY.

1. ON JULY 11, 1975, A GROUP OF 75 PERSONS WHO HAVE MOSTLY BEEN
ASSOCIATED WITH THE REGIME AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER AS APERTURISTAS OR
LIBERALIZERS FORMALLY CONSTITUTED A RESEARCH CORPORATION KNOWN AS THE
INDEPENDENT STUDIES FEDERATION, INC. (FEDISA). ITS FOUNDERS ISSUED A
STATEMENT EXPLICITLY SAYING THA FEDISA'S PURPOSE WAS TO STUDY POLITIC
AL,

SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CONFRONTING SPAIN AND THAT ITS 75
ORIGINAL SHAREHOLDERS, ALTHOUGH SUBSCRIBING TO DIFFERNT POLITICAL

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IDOLOGIES, ALL BELIEVED THAT PUBLIC LIBERTIES AND THE ORGANIZATION

OF FORMAL DEMOCRACY WERE ESSENTIAL PRECONDITIONS TO ENABLE SPANIARDS TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE.

2. MANY OF ORIGINAL SHAREHOLDERS HAVE OCCUPIED IMPORTANT GOVT POSTS (INCLUDING EVEN MINISTERIAL POSITIONS) AND A FEW STILL OCCUPY OFFICIAL POSITIONS. THREE LEADING FEDISA FOUNDER MEMBERS ARE (A) JOSE MARIA DE AREILZA, THE COUNT OF MOTRICO, MODERATE MONARCHIST OPPOSITION LEADER AND ONETIME FRANCO AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON AND PARIS; (B) PIO CABANILLAS GALLAS, FORMER MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM FROM JAN TO OCT 74; AND(C) MANUEL FRAGA IRIBARNE, CURRENT SPANISH AMBASSADOR TO LONDON AND ONETIME MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM. OTHER FOUNDERS INCLUDE TWO OF MOST INDEPENDENT-MINDED CORTES FAMILY MEMBERS, I.E., MANUEL ESCUDERO RUEDA AND JESUS ESPERABE DE ARTEAGA, FORMER SUBSECRETARY OF INTO-MMATION AND TOURISM MARCELINO OREJA AGUIRRE, FORMER INI PRESIDENT FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ, FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF INDUSTRY LANDELION LAVILLA ALSINA, FORMER DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POPULAR CULTURE RICARDO DE LA CIERVA, AND A HOST OF OTHER LAWYERS, ECONOMISTS, ENGINEERS, BUSINESSMEN, AND INTELLECTUALS WHO IN THE PAST, AND MANY UNTIL RECENT MONTHS, HAVE HELD ONE OR ANOTHER REGIME POST.

3. FOUNDERS HAVE MADE NO SECRET FEDISA CONSTITUTES REPLY OF MANY REGIME LIBERALIZERS, AS WELL AS OF POLITICAL MODERATES ON MARGIN OF REGIME AND A FEW MODERATE OPPOSITIONISTS, TO GOVT'S POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SCHEME. BY DEVICE OF INCORPORATING THEMSELVES, A TACTIC USED WITH MODEST SUCCESS BY CERTAIN OPPOSITION-ORIENTED GROUPS (E.G. TACITO, NUEVA GENERACION) IN RECENT YEARS, THEY ARE SIGNALING THAT ALTHOUGH REJECTING GOVT'S POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SCHEME, THEY STILL INTEND TO HAVE A POLITICAL VOICE.

4. ONE OF ORGANIZERS TOLD EMBOFF FEDISA COULD BE CONSIDERED A COALITION OF FORECES OF THE RIGHT WHO HAVE ONE FOOT INSIDE THE REGIME AND ONE FOOT OUTSIDE IT. ANOTHER SOURCE SAID THAT EVENTUAL HOPED-FOR GOAL WOULD BE TO SEEK ALIGNMENT WITH NEWLY FORMED PLATAFORMA DE CONVERGENCIA OPPOSITION COALITION (SEE REFTTEL) FORMED LARGELY BY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST, AND REGIONAL OPPOSITION PARTIES. (A PLATAFORMA SOURCE, HOWEVER, TOLD LABATT THAT PLATAFORMA COALITION WOULD REJECT ANY OVERTURES FROM THE FEDISA, WHOSE ORGANIZERS THEY CONSIDER "REGIME OPPORTUNISTS.")

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5. GOVT IS REPORTEDLY ANGERED AT FORMATION OF POLITICAL GROUPING OF WELL-KNOWN POLITICAL PERSONALITIES OUTSIDE FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SCHEME. NEWLY APPOINTED MINISTER SECGEN OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT JOSE SOLIS RUIZ, INDICATED GOVT REACTION TO FEDISA WHEN HE SAID IN JULY 14 SPEECH THAT ESTABLISHMENTOF CORPORATIONS WITH POLITICAL OVERTONES OUTSIDE CHANNEL PROVIDED IN STATUTE ON POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS WAS "A FRAUD AGAINST THE NATION." ADDITIONALLY, A CONSERVATIVE CORTES MEMBER HAS SUBMITTED AN AMENDMENT TO THE DRAFT

LAS OF PARLIAMENTARY INCOMPATIBILITIES BEING DEBATED IN THE CORTES, UNDER WHICH IT WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE FOR ANYONE BELONGING TO "MERCANTILE CORPORATIONS DEDICATED TO POLITICAL STUDIES" TO HOLD CORTES MEMBERSHIP, IN A MOVE CLEARLY DIRECTED AGAINST FAMILY CORTES MEMBERS ESPERABE AND ESCUDERO FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN FEDISA. PRESENCE OF FRAGA AMONG ORIGINAL FOUNDERS IS SEEN AS A PARTICULAR AFFRONT TO GOVT INASMUCH AS ARIAS HAD FIRST HOPED THAT FRAGA WOULD LEAD A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION ALTHOUGH GOVT SUBSEQUENTLY VETOED FRAGA'S EFFORT IN FEBRUARY WHEN HE ASKED FOR GUARANTEES ON PRESS FREEDOM AND POSSIBILITY OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

6. ON OTHER HAND, SOME FRAGA FOLLOWERS ARE ANGERED WITH HIM FOR FAILING TO ADEQUATELY CONSULT WITH THEM IN ADVANCE. DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL IN PRESIDENCY, GABRIEL CISNEROS, A FRAGA FOLLOWER AND MEMBER OF CORTES AND NATIONAL COUNCIL, TOLD LABATT THAT FRAGA'S MEMBERSHIP IN FEDISA HAD MADE CISNEROS' POSITION AND THAT OF OTHER FRAGA FOLLOWERS STILL HOLDING REGIME POSTS VERY DIFFICULT.

7. COMMENT: FEDISA IS THIRD POLITICAL GROUPING TO BE FORMED USING LAW ON INCORPORATION, WHICH APPARENTLY PROVIDES MOST LIBERAL MEANS AVAILABLE FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF ORGANIZATIONS. FIVE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS HAVE ALSO RECEIVED INITIAL GOVT APPROVAL WITHIN CONFINES OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SCHEME. OPPOSITION GROUPS ON OTHER HAND ARE GRADUALLY BEING DRAWN INTO EITHER COMMUNIST-DOMINATED "JUNTA DEMOCRATICA" COALITION OR RIVAL DEMOCRATIC "PLATAFORMA DE CONVERGENCIA DEMOCRATICA" COALITION.

8. KEY PROBLEM FOR GOVT IS FINDING WAY TO GET MODERATE FORCES WITHIN ESTABLISHMENT AND IN OPPOSITION TO COOPERATE WITH POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SCHEME. DELIBERATE FORMATION OF FEDISA OUTSIDE OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION SCHEME IS INDICATION THAT MANY LIBERALIZERS WITHIN ESTABLISHMENT ARE NOT INTERESTED IN POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

STABLER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: STUDIES, SOCIAL CHANGE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MADRID05037
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750252-0701
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750734/aaaabeic.tel
Line Count: 154
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 MADRID 4195
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <06 OCT 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FORMATION OF POLITICAL ACTION GROUP UNDER GUISE OF RESEARCH CORPORATION BY MODERATES AND FORMER REGIME FIGURES
TAGS: PINT, SOCI, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006